

The Director of Central Intelligence  
Washington, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM : Milton Kovner  
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SUBJECT : Papandreou Continues to Play the Role of Odd Man Out

1. Greece has proved to be as difficult an ally after signing the Defence and Economic Cooperation Agreement as it was before the accord was agreed -- and not only with the United States. The Government of Greece yesterday withdrew permission to use Greek facilities for the shipment of munitions to Lebanon; and the EC Foreign Ministers' meeting earlier this month in Athens under Greek chairmanship was clearly a retrograde step in the process of European political cooperation.

2. Chafing under the criticism of both Left and Right after publication of the DECA severely strained his credibility on the duration issue (Papandreou had publicly implied that the agreement would automatically terminate after five years; the released text makes clear that termination will require definitive action by either side), Papandreou has apparently sought to counter public perceptions that he "caved in" to the US by deliberately taking actions designed to affirm the neutrality and independence of Greek foreign policy.

-- after first agreeing to the US request to use Greek airfields to resupply the Lebanese armed forces, Papandreou yesterday withdrew Greek permission, ostensibly on grounds of possible adverse domestic and other government's reaction to Greece's involvement in the Lebanese civil war.

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-- At the EC foreign ministers meeting in Athens, the Greek Chairman alienated the other nine by weakening the EC statement on the KAL attack, by insisting on discussing East-West security issues, particularly INF, in a forum which has traditionally avoided such matters, and by proposing that Papandreou represent the Ten at Indira Ghandi's "summit" on North-South issues planned to coincide in New York with the UNGA -- a proposal rejected out of hand by the nine.

3. This studied affirmation of Greek foreign policy independence is almost certainly attributable to Papandreou's fear that, following the DECA and its repudiation of campaign pledges regarding the US bases, he must placate his own left and appease the USSR. Greek reneging on the use of its facilities to resupply the LAF will engender another chill in US-Greek relations; and its continuing independence within the EC will continue to frustrate the community's still fragile efforts at political cooperation.

  
Milton Kovner

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